Price 5 Cents. Established 1878

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN."

VOLUME LIII. CHICAGO, JULY 28, 1904. NUMBER 22

THE SNOWY HERON.

Plumes from back of Snowy Heron; The 'Aigrette' or 'Osprey' of Commerce.—*See page 342.*

'Scalp' or raw plumes as torn from back of bird.

Plumes from Egret—the 'Stub' plume of Commerce.

Through the courtesy of The Audobon Society.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

Notes 339
"Strike Ends! Meat Famine Is Averted!" 341
On the Sheep Range.—*P. E. H.* 342
The Peace of the World.—*S. E. Riser* 342
The Snowy Heron.—*William Dulcher* 342
The Shade.—*W. D. N.* 343
Men Have Equal Rights.—CHARLES F. DOLE 343

PAGE.

THE PULPIT—
The Church Against the Sects and Parties.—REV. CHARLES FERGUSON 344
The Situation of Liberal Protestantism in France.—*Jean Revelle* 347
The Paradise of the Laboring Man.—REV. FRANCIS E. CLARK 349
THE FIELD—
A Song of Morn.—WILLIAM BRUNTON 350
Foreign Notes.—M. E. H. 350

Unity Publishing Company, 3939 Langley Avenue, Chicago.

THE

HEADQUARTERS

OF THE

Tower Hill Encampment, The Tower Hill Summer School and of Unity are now on the "Hill."

Correspondence concerning Rooms, Cottages, Tents, Board and Program; communications to the Editorial and Business Departments of Unity or the Unity Publishing Company addressed to

SPRING GREEN, WISCONSIN,

will be promptly attended to.

SEND FOR CIRCULARS

UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION.

VOLUME LIII. THURSDAY, JULY 28, 1904. NUMBER 22

If we think things cannot be different from what they are, we but add so much to the dead inertia of the world, which keeps them as they are; while if we will not succumb we may be part of the very forces that will help to make things different.

W. M. SALTER.

The Church of the Messiah, of St. Louis, has seized an opportunity to make itself useful in a very commendable way. The upper parlors of the church have been converted into a dormitory, the free use of which is extended to the men of the Unitarian ministry who may desire to visit the World's Fair. Applications should be made to Mrs. E. A. DeWolf, chairman Church of the Messiah, St. Louis, Mo., specifying dates of arrival and departure. Information regarding boarding places, hotel accommodations, etc., can also be obtained by addressing Mrs. E. C. Runge, 5237 Fairmount avenue, St. Louis, Mo. We hope that other churches in St. Louis will follow this example. The World's Fair is an educational opportunity too expensive for many purses, and every legitimate way to lessen the expense will increase the educational value of the great exhibit, a true peace congress of nations.

However easy it is to dispose of Tolstoy, Ruskin, *et al*, as "visionary" and to remand them into the interesting, albeit innocent if not amusing, category of "cranks," Tolstoy remains after every such disposition; like Banco's ghost, he will not down; the thoughtful are compelled to reckon with him. Witness the article on "The Personality and Teachings of Tolstoy," which appears in the *Dial* for July 1st. It is an appreciative estimate of the last two books on Tolstoy, the one on "Tolstoy, the Man," by Edward A. Steiner, from the *Outlook* Company press, the other "A Biographical and Critical Study," by T. Sharper Knowlson, from the Frederick Warne House, of New York City. We quote from the reviewer's quotation and discover in these words an approximate explanation of the inexplicable power of personality, the contagious quality of the spirit of Tolstoy.

> This much, however, may be said for the Russian idealist, —that of all schemes for universal good his is the mightiest in its Universality, in its attempt at Uniformity, and in its plea for bringing all inharmonious elements into Unity.

Far away from the noise of the "madding crowd" in the sylvan retreats of Tower Hill we are indebted to the *Dial* for reminding us that on the day following the centennial anniversary of the birth of Nathaniel Hawthorne, a similar centenary of George Sand was due. We are sorry to confess an inability to speak of personal obligation to this author as we could of the great American romancer, but we are glad to make room this week as last for the testimony of the competent. Matthew Arnold in 1876 wrote of her as "the greatest spirit in our European world from the time that Goethe departed". George Eliot wrote of her:

> I cannot read six pages of George Sand without feeling that it is given to her to delineate human passion and its results, and some of the moral instincts and their tendencies, with such truthfulness, such nicety of discrimination, such tragic power, and withal such loving humor, that one might live a century with nothing but one's own dull faculties, and not know so much as those six will suggest.

And although George Sand herself said, "I believe that in fifty years I shall be completely forgotten," the *Dial* ventures to suggest a course of reading in George Sand, in the certainty that "those who read these seven books will be grateful to us for the counsel."

It is small and carping criticism that wastes itself in trying to discover the fallacies in the dictum of the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created free and equal with certain inalienable rights." All modifications admitted, it still remains that the primal affirmation as meant by the writers, as understood by the generations that have followed, as interpreted by the bards and the prophets, as vindicated by the blood of half a million men, freely given, is a sublime, pressing, eternal truth, the recognition of which is a mark of wisdom; the enforcement of which is the vocation of the statesman. It is possible to point out inaccuracies in the Sermon on the Mount, impracticability in the Golden Rule, and incompleteness in the decalogue, but still they stand, inspired because inspiring revelations of the spiritual life; and not until these become effete will the Declaration of Independence be remanded into the lumber room of history, a cast-off document, inadequate to the smart needs of a smart age. In this connection we are glad to reprint in another column an article from the pen of Charles F. Dole, of Boston, the president of the Twentieth Century Club, which we clip from the columns of the Boston *Sunday Globe*.

The standard bearers of the National Prohibition party will receive but little attention in the pending campaign, and still they represent a cause that is slowly but surely growing. Contrary to the expectation and in defiance to the logic of the complacent partisan, stubborn statistics show a steady increase of constituents. Prohibition is ceasing to be merely a "gospel" cry of Sunday-school workers and becoming a sober demand of business men and practical politicians of the higher sort. The "dry" territory even in great cities like Chicago is rapidly increasing. Prohibition limits have stood the test of all the courts and, what is better, are being vindicated

in the practice of ever increasing communities. The prohibition party this year more than ever before may well be the safe resort of the perplexed voter who finds little to arouse his enthusiasm in the candidates or the platforms of the dominant parties. He who votes for Swallow and Carroll will effectively register his protest against the opportunism and commercialism represented by the dominant parties and at the same time register himself on the right side of a great moral issue. Let no one be intimidated by the bugbear of "throwing away his vote" when he votes according to his conscience and in the line of an ethical reform.

We heartily sympathize with the correspondent who, returning from the wonderful fair at St. Louis, is saddened by the thought that the laboring men who built it are largely debarred from seeing it because of the closed gates at night and on Sunday. Our correspondent says: "There is no opportunity whatever for them; so far as I could find they have received absolutely no recognition." It is a sad waste of spiritual viands. Like the king in the parable, the nations, under the lead of the public spirited citizens of St. Louis, have prepared a great feast, but many of those who were bidden will not come; they are too busy with their farming and their merchandising. But instead of following the example of the king, by inviting in the humble dwellers in the by-ways, the administration has closed the gates in the face of the multitude that is at hand who would be glad to come. It has forbidden them entrance because forsooth this is a holy feast and must not be opened on Sunday, their one available day. To such it says instead: "Get thee to thy carousals; revel in the unholiness of the saloons, in the gardens of impurity and the halls of impropriety." Fortunately the great exposition in Chicago was caught in legal entanglements which permitted a gracious extension of Sunday privileges in a most ungracious way.

William H. Tolman, director of the "American Institute of Social Service" (a title of doubtful connotation, we suspect, to many American readers as yet), has an article in the *Outlook* of July 9th entitled "The Social Secretary; A New Profession." This "Social Secretary" he defines as "an official added to the staff of a business firm, who shall be the point of contact between it and its employes, so as to promote industrial betterment." In this article we are informed that such secretaries are employed by business firms in Providence, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Chicago, Dayton, Greensboro, Detroit and East Aurora. It tells of four social secretaries with four assistants being employed in one English factory at York. All these secretaries are considered employes of the factory. These English secretaries "meet the new girls at the beginning of their factory life; reference is asked for and carefully inquired into," so that the girl begins her industrial life with her personality recognized to a degree. In the perplexities, triumphs and lapses that await her she finds in the secretary, if the office be worthily filled, a friend and counselor who may help both employer and employe over many a hard place. Perhaps the social secretary is the beginning of that era of the better understanding which will pave the way for that one more "union" needed in the industrial world—an union of the unions which now bring together employers and employes in separate camps for consultation concerning their common interest.

The *Outlook* in an editorial in the issue of July 9th gives energetic justification of the benignant autocracy represented by the policy of Judge Taft in the Philippine Islands. In another article, it pleads for that something "better than independence" and offers in justification of the United States policy in the Philippines the facts and figures that represent the educational benefits and the industrial impetus that has come into the Philippine Islands. But in the making of a nation, as in the making of an individuual, is there anything "better than independence"? Is it right to take away from the people the divine privilege of making mistakes; to rob them of the bitter-sweet fruit of blundering? Does the eagle train her young ones to fly in a cage? Is there a way of teaching a child how to swim without going into the water? Is there such a thing as a benignant tyranny? May it not be that a tyranny becomes all the more debilitating and demoralizing in its benignancy? The anti-imperialist does not argue that the Filipinos can devise for themselves a government better than that perfected by the American statesmen. He only says that the Filipino can devise a better government for himself than the best of governments imposed upon him from without. In short, that a poor home government is better in the long run than the best foreign government ever devised. The discipline in a reform school may easily be more perfect, the sanitary conditions more wholesome than those in the home of many a boy, but every wise man knows that the reform school is the dire last resort; that a poor home is better for a boy than a good reformatory.

There seems to be poetic justice as well as economic wisdom in the triumphs of the "Jewish Agriculturalists' Aid Society of America," in the interest of which an important meeting of its advisory board was recently held at the Standard Club in Chicago. The president of the society, Mr. Adolph Loeb, in his opening address, said:

"Whilst absolutely an enterprise of the highest degree philanthropical, it is, strictly speaking, not at all a charity with its accompanying demoralizing and pauperizing influences. At the same time it is, more than anything else, solving the at present all absorbing, burning question, which agitates all thinking men throughout the world, how to check the ever increasing, never ceasing, danger breeding overflow of the Ghettos in the large cities. And I predict to you, gentlemen, that the time will come when our work will be recognized by all the world, and every name connected with it will go down to posterity as having assisted a most noble cause.

"Thus far our Society is in its infancy, I might say incipiency, but, notwithstanding, of sufficient ability to have demonstrated the main fact, namely, that fifteen or sixteen years ago, the originators of this work began operations which culminated in the formation of this Society, and during which time some three hundred families were settled by us and our predecessors on farms, situated all over the United States. I desire to state right here, that the policy pursued from the beginning up to date, and which remains a fundamental principle of this Society, has been against colonization in the strictest sense of the term and whilst here and there, there may be some few of our assisted farmers neighboring one another, such is an exception, the rule being separation and possibly *isolation.*

* * * *

"I quote from the Secretary's last report: 'Over 60 per cent. of all our assisted farmers are in a prosperous condition, some having paid back the loans made to them, principal and interest in full, while others are making their payments as they become due. Not over three per cent. of all people assisted have failed in their venture, and the actual loss of money sustained by our Society will not even figure three per cent. of the amount invested.'

"Nearly three hundred families, comprising over 1,450 people, have been assisted by the Society since the work was taken up sixteen years ago. These people have located on 268 farms aggregating nearly 30,000 acres of land. Of these, 134 are homesteads of 160 acres each, aggregating 23,180 acres of land. Nearly 12,000 acres are under cultivation on the 268 farms, and the balance of the land is being improved and put under cultivation as rapidly as can be expected. The improvements on these farms, consisting of buildings and fences, outside of the land cultivated, amount to more than $40,000. The live stock and implements will figure up to over $50,000, so that these farms represent, outside of the value of the land and outside of what it would actually cost to break the number of acres which are already under cultivation, nearly $100,000. The value of the land itself will figure up to hundreds of thousands of dollars, and while but a portion of our homesteaders have thus far acquired title to their homesteads, it is but a matter of a few years when every settler will have title to his claim, none of which is valued less than $800.

For many bitter centuries the Jews were forbidden throughout all the realms of Europe to hold title in real estate. If our memory serves us rightly, it is less than two hundred years since this disqualification was removed even in England. It was this unchristian tyranny of the Christians that forced the Jew into commercial callings and made of the house of Israel a trading people. When this disability is removed and the blight incident thereto overcome, the Jewish blood that has proved its vitality and its virility on so many fields may yet return to the pastoral delights and triumphs of Bible days; the "cattle on a thousand hills" will delight the descendant of Judea's bards in the open fields of America where even the Jew is given a chance to "go west and grow up with the country."

"Strike Ends! Meat Famine Is Averted!!"

So run the head lines of a morning paper of the 21st inst. This strike involved the nine great packing house centers of the West. It lasted nine and one-half days. Nearly 40,000 employes were directly engaged in the strike besides a large army of laborers of all grades indirectly affected. These 40,000 strikers lost in wages, according to the published estimate, $902,500. The railroads centering in Chicago alone lost in business $1,180,000, the packers must have been the heaviest losers, and the long suffering public were burdened with a 20 per cent. rise in the price of meat, besides the uncomputable loss from strain, anxiety, embittering of feelings and distortion of judgment now on one side and then on the other.

The end came, to the delight of all parties concerned, not by the settling of any question at issue, but by agreeing to arbitrate, a termination which the experience of many years ought to have made clear to all parties from the start. Seeing this end from the beginning, why this nine and one-half days of profound disturbance and irreparable damage to the business, social morals and spiritual interest of all parties concerned?

Pending the wise legislation that is surely coming which will compel corporations and unions to settle their quarrels in competent courts of justice as individuals who must not disturb the public by street brawls, why should not the disputing parties in this case ask the arbitrators to incorporate in their verdict the method of adjusting future disputes without resorting to the violence of strikes and lockouts, or at least provide that these lawless methods should be the last and not the first resort? If this court of arbitration should provide that in future lawful steps be taken first, the recent strike would indeed become the most eventful strike in history.

That it is already on several important accounts. It vindicates the optimistic faith that the era of brotherhood is steadily and rapidly advancing. In this strike the expert laborer who had no grievances made common cause with the non-expert laborers. The skillful championed the cause of the common laborer. This strike was also remarkable in being the first systematic attempt to "combine" the labor interests of the packing centers as the capital interests have already succeeded in doing to a notable degree. Henceforth, the employes will have nothing to say when employers unite for defensive and offensive work.

The prospect of close and effective conjunction of the laborers of the country is a menacing one, but not more so than a similar combination of the capital of the country. But the menace is only seeming. Let the combinations be perfected until the wasteful doctrines of trade, the war-engendering competitions of commerce be supplanted by the ever-growing combinations of human industries which ever advance the growing brotherhood of man.

Publicity, arbitration, profit-sharing, a growing mutual respect, are both means and ends in this great evolution.

The situation is proved to be a hopeful one by the recent strike that semed to be so full of danger.

Twenty thousand idle men in the stock yards district, all of whom were saloon environed, a percentage of who were passionate and ignorant men, and only two arrests for disorderly conduct are reported by the police. Well might Inspector Hunt say:

"It was the most wonderful strike in the world. There have been but two arrests for disorderly conduct in eight days. The stockyards district is not noted for quiet and the lull of the last week has been almost unprecedented. There is much to commend in the attitude of the 20,000 men who have been in idleness for this length of time."

We believe that this strike has advanced the mutual respect of the one combination for the other. We believe that the packing business will be increasingly profitable to employer and employe and that the innocent but most interested third party—the public—will

learn that here is further illustration of the great Bible truth: "He maketh the wrath of men to praise him."

LATER.—Since the above was in type we in common with our readers have learned with regret that there has been another "slip between the cup and the lip" and that the strike is on again. If the second strike is the result of a misunderstanding our editorial remains. If it is the result of treachery on the part of one or of both sides then still does the editorial remain in force, showing what can be done, what might be done, what has been done when the contending parties trust one another.

On the Sheep Range.

They rove the desert where the norther blows;
They find no tender pasture green and sweet;
They browse where arid, endless sage-brush grows,
And stony is the pathway for their feet.

The rock-ribbed cañon is their grim corral;
They sip the stream their strength could never stem;
And, unafraid, beneath the mountain wall
They sleep, because their shepherd camps with them.

P. E. H.

The Peace of the World.

France has offered to John Hay the gold cross of the Legion of Honor for his services in promoting and maintaining the peace of the world.

Let us rise and sing hosannas,
Peace spreads over all the world;
Birds are nesting in the cannon
And the battle flags are furled:
Down the hills of Colorado
Trickle streams of human gore;
But the god of war is silent—
He has ceased to rip and roar.

Let the glad stars in their courses
Hear the songs of peace we sing;
'Neath the trees black forms and rigid
Still occasionally swing.
But away with them that worry,
Let their foolish carping cease,
The white dove is gently cooing
And the whole world is at peace.

In the fastnesses of Thibet
Men are pushing on to slay;
In the African morasses
White and black men war away;
In the isles of the Pacific
Soldiers hurry forth to kill,
But the god of war is idle
And his hateful voice is still.

Men are fighting in the Indies,
The Armenian mother cries
O'er her loved ones who are looking
Up to God through sightless eyes;
In the distant East the Russians
And their bitter foes contend,
But the ways of men are peaceful,
Cruel war is at an end.

Let us rise and sing hosannas,
Brotherhood has claimed us all;
Quietly the charger munches
At the fodder in his stall;
The Missouri mule is dozing
And the battle flags are furled;
Let the soldiers go to farming,
Peace spreads over all the world.

S. E. Kiser in the Chicago Record Herald.

The Pine.

First a little slender line,
Like a mermaid's green eyelash, and then anon
A stem a tower might rest upon,
Standing spear-straight in the waist-deep moss,
Its bony roots stretching around and across,
As if they would tear up earth's breast in their grasp
Ere the storm should uproot them or make them unclasp;
Its cloudy boughs singing as suiteth the pine.

—Anon.

The Snowy Heron.*

The recent history of the White Herons is pathetic in the extreme, as it is a tale of persecution and rapid extermination. It was a sad day when fashion decreed that the nuptial plumes of these birds should be worn as millinery ornaments. Feathers and scalps, rapine and blood are the accompaniments of savage life, but better things are expected of civilization.

It is hardly possible that any women of the present day are unacquainted with all the horrible details of plume-hunting. The following pen picture of the horrors of the plume trade, drawn by Prof. T. Gilbert Pearson, secretary of the North Carolina Audubon Society, shows the work in all its bloody reality:

"In the tall bushes, growing in a secluded pond in a swamp, a small colony of Herons had their nesting home. I accompanied a squirrel-hunter one day to the spot, and the scene which met our eyes was not a pleasant one. I had epected to see some of the beautiful Herons about their nests, or standing on the trees near by, but not a living one could be found, while here and there in the mud lay the lifeless forms of eight of the birds. They had been shot down and the skin bearing the plumes stripped from their backs. Flies were busily at work, and they swarmed up with hideous buzzings as we approached each spot where a victim lay. This was not the worst; in four of the nests young orphan birds could be seen who were clamoring piteously for food which their dead parents could never again bring to them. A little one was discovered lying with its head and neck hanging out of the nest, happily now past suffering. On higher ground the embers of a fire gave evidence of the plume-hunters' camp.

"The next spring I visited this nesting site, but found only the old nests fast falling to decay.

"When man comes, slaughters and exterminates, Nature does not restore."

This story of a single Florida colony is the story of what has happened in all of Florida, the Gulf coast of the United States, along the Mexican and Central American coast, both on the Atlantic and Pacific sides, and has extended into South America. From the enormous numbers of Herons' plumes that are annually sold in the London feather market there is no doubt that plume-punters are at work wherever the White Herons are found.

That Herons are rapidly becoming scarce and more difficult to obtain by the plume-hunters is shown by the difference in price in the raw material. Twenty years since the cost per ounce was only a few dollars, now it is more than quadrupled. In circulars sent by New York feather dealers to plume-hunters in Florida during 1903, thirty-two dollars per ounce was offered for fine plumes. This not only indicates the rapidly increasing scarcity of the White Herons, but also that some dealers are willing, in order to obtain the plumes, to offer special inducements to hunters to violate laws enacted for the protection of these birds.

The much-sought-after plumes are worn by the Herons for only a very limited period during the year; that is, in the breeding season. Unfortunately, during that time the Herons gather in colonies; whether this is for protection or is merely social is not known. During the remainder of the year they are wild and wander over large districts, when it is impossible for plume-hunters to kill them in quantities that would afford pecuniary returns. However, during the breeding season, the habits of these unfortunate birds change entirely, and with the growth of the parental instinct they lose all sense of fear or wildness and the hunter has little trouble in securing his victims. The death of the parent birds entails the destruction of the helpless nestlings by the painful and lingering method of starvation.

Mr. Chapman says, in his "Birds of Eastern North America": "The destruction of these birds

*See illustrations on front page.

is an unpleasant subject. It is a blot on Florida's history." The blood stain is not on Florida alone but may be found in every part of the world. A few years more of reckless slaughter during the breeding season and the White Herons will be classed among the extinct birds, the number of which is far too rapidly increasing.

Dealers often state that "aigrettes" are manufactured, but this is not so; man has never yet been able to imitate successfully these beautiful plumes; all that are offered for sale have been torn from the backs of the smaller White Herons. Even the stiff plumes, or "stubs," are not manufactured but are the plumes of the larger species of White Herons.

Herons' plumes are often sold as "ospreys"; this is simply another trade name used to disguise the fact that they are Herons' plumes: the "Osprey" of science is the Fish Hawk, which produces no plumes of any kind.

Both "aigrettes" and "stubs" are dyed various colors, especially black; however, no matter what is the tint of the plume, its original color when on the back of the Heron was white; the artificial color is merely in response to the dictates of fashion.

It is conceded that the sale of aigrettes from American birds is prohibited, but it is claimed that there are no laws that prevent the sale of imported goods. Granting that this may be the case, how is the buyer to tell whether the goods are from American or Old World Herons? The most expert ornithologists cannot separate the plumes after they are taken from the birds.

The wearing of "aigrettes," or plumes from the White Herons, whether native or foreign, has now become a question of ethics which every woman must decide for herself. It matters not a whit where the plume comes from, the fact remains the same, that the woman who wears one is party to a cruel wrong and the plume itself becomes a badge of inhumanity and is no longer a thing of beauty.—*William Dutcher, Chairman National Committee of Audubon Society.*

The Shade.

" * * Under oaks and poplars and elms, because the shadow thereof is good."—Hosea iv., 13.*

This tree, which stands with arms outspread,
  With leaves like fingers tremulous
To seize all coolness overhead
  And softly waft it down to us,
This tree—it means a hundred years
  Of rain and sun, of drought and dew.
Before this shade which rests and cheers
  Into today's perfection grew.

Some kindly one—forgotten now—
  May thoughtfully have placed the seed,
Foreseeing that each reaching bough
  Would satisfy a worn one's need.
Whoe'er he was, that unknown one,
  Who set the seed, or sproutlet slim,
He knew not that he had begun
  What stands a monument to him.

The trees—the kindly trees—that blaze
  With spring's green flame or autumn's blush,
The sentry fires that line the ways
  Into the woodland's peaceful hush—
Through all the years they slowly grow
  Until they shield the flowered sod;
The trees—the kindly trees—they show
  The patient thoroughness of God.

This tree, which stands with arms outspread,
  Seems to pronounce while standing thus,
A blessing, and to gently shed
  A benediction over us.
The sunlight shuttles through the leaves
  With threads of gold that flash and play,
Across the warp of shade it weaves
  The mingled fabric of the day.

W. D. N., in the Chicago Tribune, July 18.

Men Have Equal Rights.

The real and practical question is not whether men are equal. One may be a democrat in "good and regular standing," and yet not believe that men are equal in any sense, or ever will be equal. Indeed, few people hold any theory of human equality, except for the sake of discussion. Men are obviously not equally strong, or tall, or handsome, or quick-witted, or courageous, or good-tempered, or self-controlled, or humane. Men are not equally useful, or lovable. Why should they be? Why should they even wish to be? Am I not glad that there have been and are stronger, wiser and better men than I am? I am surely richer and better off for the existence of better men than I. The more of them there are, the better for all of us.

The important fact about men is not that we are all equal (which is not true), but that we all possess certain human values as men. These values are not measurable in the market, or by the scales. They are very often not realized at all, and exist only in the form of possibilities. They are the things in which at present men differ more than in any other way. And yet it is by virtue of the fact that a man is more than a beast, that he has the quality of manhood, that the average man has the possibility of quite indefinite growth upward on the lines of his manhood—it is by virtue of this fact that we lift all men together to a plane of dignity, respect and sympathy. The man may or may not be more valuable than his neighbor. What we care for is that the man has it in him to grow to be altogether more nobly a man than he is now.

Perhaps some one does not credit this. "Look at men," it is said, "as they pass on the street. The average man is dull and ineffective. Look at the inferior races, barbarous and sensual. Where are your high possibilities of manhood in South Sea Islanders and Malays?" Look more closely, we reply to the people who sneer at the human nature which they themselves share. There is not a race on earth of whose common people you will not hear, from those who know them best, the most beautiful stories of heroism, faithfulness and devotion. It was only a short time ago that the western world despised the Japanese, and would hardly treat them with respect in their own ports. Suddenly, at the mere touch of the magic wand of enlightenment, a new nation springs forth into the ranks of civilized powers, with a capacity for self-sacrifice and chivalry which almost puts white men to shame.

Or, see what measureless human capacity may be concealed in a little child as strangely defective as Helen Keller was. "A worthless child!" the cynic would have surely said, of a girl who proves now to have something to say and teach which the cynics need especially to know.

My point is that the human nature which ever and anon blossoms out on every side of us into brave and generous deeds, which ripens at its best into heroes and Christs, is common to us all. We reverence it wherever we see it; we count no man low or cheap from whose eyes the gleam of it may flash.

I grant that this is partly a faith; though it is built up on the basis of facts. Preachers talk of faith in God. The need of the world is of more faith in mankind. There can hardly be valid faith in God, whom we have not seen, unless there is faith in our brothers, the children of God, with whom we live. The democratic idea grows out of this faith in men's manhood, and tends to evaporate without it. A great simple rule of life proceeds from the same faith, namely, to treat all men, at all times, on the side of their manhood, as we would

wish to be treated ourselves. This is to treat men at once with respect and good will. I must treat the little child so, or the new immigrant from Syria. I can treat President Roosevelt on no higher plane. In fact, I must treat men so, in order myself to stand on the level of my manhood.

Take now such a practical question as our conduct toward the Filipinos. "They are only a colored people," men say. "They are like children. They are not fit to govern themselves." Are they not human? I answer. Is it not likely that they have feelings like ours? How should we feel, if others, somewhat more educated or powerful, looked down upon us as unfit to manage our own affairs, and took us in hand by force of compulsion? Should we thank them because they styled themselves "missionaries of civilization," while all the time they held us fast and set foreign garrisons in our towns?

The truth is, there is a deep law that underlies human conduct. We all feel it. The law is that we tend to be and become that which people expect of us. Treat us as children, and we have to exert ourselves not to answer back with childishness. Treat us as worthless and you urge us to show our worst side. Treat us with suspicion and we tend to answer back with suspicions, or with enmity. Treat us as men and you challenge us always to play the part of men. Trust us and expect our best, and you invariably help us to rise to our best.

Apply this rule to the Filipinos and see what it does with our problem. We have treated them as enemies, and they hated us. We are trying now to treat them as inferiors and as children. We are trying to patronize them. Does any one doubt that they will suspect our motives? Will they be likely to tell us the truth? Will they not resent our professed beneficence? Shall we not be provoked to answer back their suspicions in kind? Must we not constantly stand ready to punish them and to put down their childishness? Must we not keep an army and navy on hand to discipline an "inferior" people? All this will come about as long as we treat the Filipinos as we would not be willing to be treated ourselves.

Let us then tell the Filipinos what ought to be true—that we are wholly their friends, that we can have no possible use for holding their islands in subjection, that we do not propose to stay a day longer than they wish us to remain, that we look to them to keep order in their own country, and to that end we will begin to withdraw our garrisons and continue to withdraw them, as fast as the Filipinos prove to have no further need of their help.

I am not saying that the Filipinos and the Americans are equal. Some of them are doubtless better than some of us. I simply urge that they are men, with human values, to be treated with respect, consideration and good will. If we treat them so, there can be no excuse or need for maintaining foreign garrisons among them—a thing odious to all men who walk erect. If we cannot treat them as men, it is because we are not ready to treat each other in America as men. In other words, it is because we are not fit to govern ourselves, in which case we cannot be fit to govern other people thousands of miles away. CHARLES F. DOLE.

One sacrifice of the temporal for the eternal day is the grain of mustard-seed, which may give birth to a tree large enough to make a home for the sweetest singing birds. One moment of deep truth in life, of choosing not merely honesty, but purity, may leaven the whole mass.—*Margaret Fuller.*

THE PULPIT.

The Church—Against the Sects and Parties.

A FORECAST OF THE NEW ALIGNMENT OF SOCIAL FORCES.

By Charles Ferguson, Author of "The Religion of Democracy," "The Affirmative Intellect," etc.

From the establishment of the Constitution to the epoch of the Spanish War, political controversy in America turned upon the question whether we should have more government or less, much or little. That issue is now dead, and only the obscurantists of politics—those that learn nothing and forget nothing—are able any longer to interest themselves in it. We are all federalists now; there is nowhere a considerable party that openly demands a looser social bond. The triumph of industrialism and the definite commitment of the nation to the principle of expansion—on some terms or other—these events have given a final quietus to the theory of political nihilism and the philosophy of *laissez faire.* In the United States today there is only one unpardonable sin, and that is to make light of government and law. Philosophic anarchism—under another name—was fashionable in America a hundred years ago. Mr. John Turner—the estimable English workingman who has recently been denied the hospitality of these shores by the United States Supreme Court, not for preaching that doctrine, but for professing it—would have been welcomed with open arms in the days of Jefferson and Clinton, or in those of Emerson and Henry D. Thoreau. It is not that Americans have ceased to love liberty; it is because they have come to look for liberty not through the weakening but through the strengthening of law.

Economic monopoly in the old world was a function of state; it got itself associated with the idea of political tyranny—the absolutism of strong governments. For a century and more we have been canvassing the question whether we might not hope to escape from monopoly by weakening the government and narrowing the scope of civil law. The meaning of the present emergency is that we have utterly despaired of that attempt. The burden of privilege under which the American people are groaning today was not laid upon us by law but by lawlessness. It did not befall because we have had too much government, but because we have had too little.

Of course it is not to be denied that governments in this country—national, state and municipal—have now and again granted monopolies to privileged persons out of hand, quite in the fashion of the ancient kings and courts. The point is that economic monopoly in America, though it has grown strong enough at length to buy laws and patents to suit its pleasure, has its tap-roots not in unequal laws, but in a certain contempt of law, superinduced by half a dozen generations of the teaching that the best government is that which governs least. In the rise of industrial order we are learning by painful experience that if the government is shallow in its conception and narrow in its scope, the most gigantic and crushing monopolies that the world has ever known may flourish under a regime that insists upon the most literal enforcement of the principle of "equality before the law."

The bewilderment of politics at this moment is due to the complete exhaustion of Jeffersonian democracy, as that doctrine has been vulgarly understood. No doubt there were in Thomas Jefferson's teachings implications that are of permanent validity—something of that religious passion of the people that uttered itself in the deeper strain of the

French Revolution, a manly protest, not against the law itself, but against the old world's outworn conception of law. And all through the history of the Democratic Party, under the barren negations of political protestantism there has sounded a note prophetic of social regeneration. But the negations have now confessed their barrenness; that is why the Democratic Party is in a quandary from which, in anything like its traditional shape, it is not likely to emerge. The faction that still cherishes the negations of Jeffersonian democracy is etiolated and academic; it has no constructive purpose and no reason for existing. The factions represented by Mr. Bryan, by Mr. Tom Johnson and by Tammany Hall are all moving in the same general direction, to-wit: the centralization of political power in the supposed interest of the comparatively poor, and they are bound to coalesce in the organization of a renovated Democratic Party on a socialistic basis.

To be sure, it seems to be settled that socialism of the abstract and doctrinaire type is not going to take root in American soil. Indeed, that sort of socialism is on the wane everywhere in Europe; the kind that is gaining ground so notably in Germany and other continental countries is practical and opportunist. It has become simply a political force, working for the improvement of the material condition of the mass of the people through the concentration of governmental powers in the hands of the working class. As for the existing Socialist Party in the United States it is half a generation behind Europe in its intellectual evolution; it still nurses an utopian dream which has been abandoned by all the leading minds of Europe that are moving along similar lines. It lingers on at the speculative and metaphysical stage of politics; breaks up into rival and irreconciliable factions like a religious sect, and exhausts its energy in endless discussions. Evidently it has no future. It is in the Democratic Party that socialism of the effective kind is finding its embodiment.

Socialism is the imperialism of the poor; imperialism is the socialism of the rich. The Republican Party, as it exists, and the Democratic Party, organized for its socialistic mission, will have very much in common. Both will contend for the highest possible concentration of economic and political power. They will exhibit the spectacle of two gigantic corporations striving to excel each other in the common task of increasing the power of public offices by enfeebling the will of private initiative. The difference between them will consist simply in the fact that one will seek to get possession of the public offices as the agent of the prosperous class, the other as the agent of the discontented.

Both of the parties, therefore, are fated to move in a direction that is definitely reactionary; neither of them can forward the characteristic ambitions of the new industrial age. The strength of both will lie in the moral weakness of the people, the faithlessness to one's own ideal, which strives in vain to avoid disaster by preferring prose to poetry and half a loaf to the venturesome struggle for a whole one. It will be impossible for either of these parties to permanently hold the allegiance of the men who represent the genius and spirit of the new times. Such men will understand that the most terrible disaster must follow upon this narrowing of social interests to the dimensions of the traditional class controversy. The blind preoccupation of the class-conscious rich on the one hand and the class-conscious poor on the other, to get control of the military and police power for the safe establishment of their several claims—unless it shall be contravened by the rise of a third power, representative of the common human interests—will precipitate such a civil war as the imagination balks at—a civil war of which the warning has already been sounded with sufficient distinctness in the experience of Colorado and other American communities.

Where, then, shall that third social power be found?

Unquestionably it is to be found in a modernized conception of the historic Church—a Church unsectarized and brought to the level of secular affairs. We are coming to understand that a sect is not a church; is it no more a church than a political party is a state. The prevalence of the sectarian spirit has obscured the essential church-idea, just as party-spirit obscures the true idea of the state. The history of the Church cannot be traced in the history of sects.

American civil society has not refused to ally itself with the Church; it has refused the alliance of the sects and has cast them out of the forum of the common life. It is only in the distempered view of sectarians that the Church is seen as a sacred society, set apart from the secular order. The fact is that the Church is a civil and secular conception, the working ideal of a genuine democracy. It has been growing upon the imagination of men for two thousand years. Yet its existence is not merely imaginary. Already it is a first class power in politics; it prevails in American society as a diffused energy of immense momentum. It is electricity in the air and it needs only the storm to give it definiteness of lightning and the striking power.

The Church in its genetic idea is simply the industrial order—on its ideal side. It is a way of organizing society for getting the greatest possible quantity and the best possible quality of work done. The mission of the Church is to make goods cheap and men dear. It stands for social organization in accordance with the principle of efficiency—the greatest of all being the person who has proved to be of the most service. The sects have masked the utterly practical character of the Church under a cloud of metaphysical theories. They have done their best to make the world suppose that a Church is a company of people who think alike on abstract and theological questions, whereas the cardinal difference between the Church on one hand and every sort of sect and party on the other, is that the Church has nothing whatever to do with abstract questions, but judges everything by its fruits.

The Church is artistic and scientific; it is society constituted for creative enterprise—the subdual of the earth and the building of the imperishable cities. It is pledged to no theory of rights, it begins with no speculative definition of the truth; it is the free association of the people for the discovery and enforcement of the eternal laws of social progress—whatever they may turn out to be. It knows nothing of the parlous antithesis between individualism and socialism, because it holds that the best interest of the individual is to serve society, and it is obviously the best interest of society that it should be served. There is no sacrifice called for on either side—nothing but courage and a working belief that the universe is reasonable in its ground plan.

The Church proclaims a career for all kinds of talent; it is a social conspiracy for the furtherance of every private enterprise that is a public service and the suppression of every other kind as a public nuisance. The Church is the champion of intellectual liberty—the party of the arts and sciences. It is the mother of the university, the free city and the industrial order. If the industrial order is to pre-

vail it must be through the prevalence of the Church over every social force that shall withstand it.

The Church, in becoming the University of the People, simply carries out to their logical conclusion the valid and affirmative contentions of historic protestantism; it realizes, as no so-called protestant church has ever done, the practical significance of "the right of private judgment." And in proclaiming the principle that a man is "saved," not by conformity to any conventional standard of goodness, but by becoming a master of arts in the creative outworking of his own ideal, it gives effect to what was intended by the theological dogma of "justification by faith only." The thing that is of permanent validity in catholicism is the principle of "territorial jurisdiction," the contention that everybody belongs to the Church, whether he knows it or not, and whether he likes it or not; that the Church comprehends all of the lives and the whole of the life of the people that live in any community in which the Church has once set up its standard. And this claim of secular power and world-mission passes from the realm of reminiscence and enters into modern history in the conception of a Church that condescends to the level of economics and undertakes to organize the people in American towns for the building of free cities and the advancement of civilization. Protestantism comes to itself in a Church that has become the university of grown men at their work, and catholicism achieves its destiny in the same Church conceived of as a social organization for the promotion of the arts and sciences and the control of the industrial order.

The Church is not a political party and never can be. It is the antagonist of the parties; but it must strip itself of its spiritual and intellectual pride, its pride of culture and dogma, and must descend to the level on which the parties stand in order to conquer them. This is the humility that shall be exalted. The dead issue in American politics is the party issue; the live issue is the antagonism between the regenerated Church on the one hand and the reactionary parties on the other. The party struggle, in becoming a class struggle, has evacuated the battleground whereon the high issues of human progress are fought out. The party struggle, if left to itself, cannot do otherwise than end in political paralysis and mob violence, the sordid rivalry of Girondists and Jacobins, to grasp the reins of unregulated power.

Philosophically considered the party politics of the United States in the nineteenth century was a culminating chapter in the history of the Church; it was the most real and passionate wrestle that the world has seen between the historic principle of protestantism on the one hand and that of catholicism on the other. The two great parties were simply the most vital—the most full-blooded and secular of the religious sects. It was because the religion of the parties was more real and momentous—commanded a more sincere devotion—than that of the sects claiming the names of protestant and catholic, that they were able to thrust the latter out of the public forum and hold the whole field of history-making for themselves. The American genius has never for a moment been irreligious; and in denying to the sectarian churches all part or lot in public affairs, it is not to be supposed that the intention was to cast out religion from the secular life, but rather to clear the ground of all irrelevances by expelling the futile hair-splittings of theology. It was in the bosom of the great political parties—through wars and vast adventures and with infinite sacrifice of blood and treasure—that the great tradition of human faith was carried on, while the corporations that called themselves religious stood apart from the field and grew more impotent and anachronistic with the lapse of each decade of the century.

Of the two great parties, one contended for the catholic principle of union, the other for the protestant principle of liberty. It was through the collision of these two studendous forces—with all the incalculable crimes and losses that it entailed—that the American people have achieved what no other people has ever achieved—a working conviction of the essential church-idea, the idea that liberty and union are one and inseparable. It is the natural logic of this experience that an institution should arise in American communities to embody the lesson that has been learned—for in spite of all pessimism there is such a thing in human affairs as learning one's lesson. Is it not puerile to argue that the partisan exaggerations that have cost us so dear should be made perpetual? It is as if one should say that half our ships should be built with a list to starboard and half to port, in order that the navy, as a whole, might keep an even keel. Yet this is the dictum of our most accredited political philosophers, the best that they can have to offer on the subject of government by parties. If law without liberty is despotism and liberty without law is anarchy, it would seem to be impossible for a mob of slaves and tyrants and another one of anarchists, to establish a perfect republic—by cancellation. As the great political parties have come to a clearer consciousness of their own meanings the life has gone out of them, leaving only the gaunt and galvanic forms—two huge machines worked in the interest of classes. And this life of the dead parties is ready to pour itself into the organism of a synthetic society, a Church that shall be more federalist than Hamilton and more democratic than Jefferson ever dreamed of being.

The history of the Church in its spinal marrow is the story of the rise of the industrial order. The Church's mission is to restore human society to its norm and health. And the only healthy society is industrial society. It is the teaching of biology and of sociology as well that every living thing must mount or die, and all social progress is got by working. If the social organization is not for work the organization is a disease. Now the amazing fact is that up to the present time there never has been seen on earth such a thing as a considerable human society organized for work. Always another idea than the industrial one has predominated in the organization of large social groups. The production of things that are of human value has always been subordinated to another consideration. That other consideration has been the establishment of some plan or other for the division of valuable things. Wealth-production has always been postponed to wealth-distribution. The lawmakers have always been so engrossed in the problem of how best to divide up the good things that are produced by labor that they have given little or no attention to the question of how best to produce them. Everything has been done to define and defend the rights of property and very little to release the creative forces of mankind and direct them to fruitful ends.

The Church has addressed itself to this false bias of the old world—this disease of social organization—with perfect logic. It has ushered in the industrial order by a double process. First, it has made light of the thing that the lawmakers have made much of, and second, it has made much of what they have made light of. It has depreciated the importance of distributing wealth in what is

supposed to be an exact accordance with deserts, and it has emphasized the importance of production, the worth of service and the dignity of work. Thus a genuine industrial society is one that is determined before all things to economize the productive force of the people and disposed to settle all questions of property rights on the general principle that the tools must be put into the hands that can use them.

To speak of the rise of the industrial order in the United States is not to say that the industrial idea has actually acquired a preponderating power here. Such is not the case. What can be said is merely that this country is distinguished above all others as the country where for the first time in history the principle of social health has attained sufficient energy to fight for the life of society, with a fair chance of definitive success. If we succeed in this adventure we shall have established no utopia, but the conditions of permanent progress. We shall have surmounted the deadly disease that has destroyed all the civilizations of the past. For every society that has adjusted its organization to the aim of wealth distribution, in neglect of wealth production, has evolved by a longer or shorter process a ruling and a ruled class, the oppressor and the oppressed, and has died in the class struggle. The Church, therefore, descends into the secular arena to abolish the class struggle and mobilize the forces of society for an endless march.

3333 Douglas Avenue, St. Joseph, Mo.

The Situation of Liberal Protestantism in France.

The Triennial Conference of the delegates of Liberal Protestant churches in France assembled last week in Paris during three days. These meetings give me the opportunity to send to our Unitarian friends some information about our religious situation. If there are some amongst the readers of *The Inquirer* who are not acquainted with our denominations, I beg permission to refer them to the report I had the honor to read at the National Conference at Liverpool, and which was printed in *The Inquirer* of April 25, 1903.

The number of consistoires, *i. e.*, of Protestant ecclesiastical subdivisions containing a more or less extensive group of parishes, which sent delegates (one pastor and one layman each) to our Conference, was thirty-four. About 150 congregations were represented. As there are 104 consistoires in France (including Algeria), the Liberal party comprises nearly a third part of the French Reformed Church, but most of its followers are in the mountains of the Cévennes or in the rural parishes of the south of France, where there is more good will than abundant means. Rev. E. Bost was in the chair. Pastor Gerold, of Strassburg, brought us the fraternal wishes of the Liberal Protestants of Alsace; Professor Balavoine, of Geneva, represented the "Union Suisse du Christianisme Libéral." And for the first time we had the pleasure to receive two delegates of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, MM. Pritchard and Tarrant. M. Pritchard delivered his address in French and was warmly cheered when he moved the resolution, already approved by the last Unitarian Conference, that this meeting should congratulate all those who contributed to the realization of the Anglo-French accord.

The report of the Honorable Professor Jalabert, secretary of the Délégation Libérale, gave a review of what has been done in the last three years, at once engaging and alarming. Encouraging, for amongst Protestant people the liberal cause is in a good way. The Ecole Samuel Vincent at Nimes, the school for training young pupils to prepare them for theological studies and the ministry in our churches, has been prosperous during these last years. Whilst twenty years ago we had a lamentable want of candidates for our liberal parishes, all our churches are now provided, and the spirit of the young pastors is generally very good. The missionary work in the country is successful, especially in the department of the Charente, where Pastor Robert has created Protestant groups in thirty-four villages, and gained more than two thousand members of the church, and in St. Etienne, St. Chamond, and Rive de Gier, amongst the miners of that industrious country. The old Mission Intérieure du Gard, which will celebrate in December the fiftieth anniversary of its creation, is also satisfied with the results of its activity.

Encouraging also is the development of a peaceful spirit in an ever increasing part of the orthodox churches. Two years ago, when the churches had to present a candidate for the chair of Reformed Dogmatics in the Theological School in Paris to succeed the late Auguste Sabatier, the moderate orthodox group united with the liberal consistoires in voting for the Rev Jean Monnier. He obtained sixty-four suffrages. Professor Monnier does not, indeed, belong to the liberal organization, but he is a broad-minded man. This experience shows that there are now in the orthodox organization nearly as many consistoires who are inclined to live in fraternal relations with the liberals, as there are properly liberal consistoires in our own organization. This new group is what we call "le centre droit" (the right center). Its very active periodical is *La Vie Nouvelle,* whose chief editor is the Pastor Louis Lafon, of Montauban.

The ecclesiastical situation of this third party is curious. Its members belong still to the orthodox organization which was established after the great scission of 1872. They take part in the synods of this strictly presbyterian organization, which is not recognized by the Government, and which we call, therefore, "le synodalisme officieux." But they no longer share in the spirit which originally inspired this whole movement. They mean to keep up the presbyterian form of church government because it is the old traditional constitution of the French Reformed Church, but they reject the intolerance of its founders who, in 1872, excluded all the liberals and did not admit any other members than those who consented to subscribe an orthodox confession of faith. They think that all tendencies can live together in the same synods. Although most of them personally adhere still to a conservative theology, they believe that a common Christian faith does not consist in the profession of a uniform theology, but in communion in the same evangelical, religious and moral faith. And they acknowledge that such a faith is prevalent amongst pious liberals as well as amongst pious orthodox people.

The increasing influence of this new group has seriously changed our ecclesiastical situation. The orthodox organization has still the majority, but the orthodox spirit no longer. Several committees have been founded where members of the different denominations are working together; for instance, the committee for moral and social action, which has undertaken a very active campaign against alcoholism, immorality, atheism and other plagues of our democracy, as well amongst Catholic as Protestant people. And orthodox as well as liberal apostles find that they can very well fight together against the same enemies.

We Liberals have never thought otherwise. I mean that this new spirit amongst a part of our

orthodox co-religionists is really nothing else than a diffusion of the liberal spirit. On our side we have no objection at all against the presbyterian form of church government. We know that this is the proper constitution of our church in the past. We were obliged after 1872 to create a separate organization, because we were thrown out of the church of our forefathers. But as soon as we can re-enter in the synodal church without disowning our liberal faith, we are ready to do so. And now we are convinced that if a general synod was called together by the Government, our right would be acknowledged by its majority, notwithstanding the strong opposition of the old orthodox party.

Last autumn an attempt was made to obtain from the Government the convocation of a new general synod, where all the official reformed churches would be represented. There has been nothing of the kind since 1872. But it is clear that the Government does not feel at all inclined to do so. The Minister of Public Worship remembers how much trouble his predecessor had with the several parties of the synod of 1872, and how he could not ratify its decisions. Moreover, in the direction of non-Catholic worship he is now quite sovereign in all ecclesiastical matters; the director prefers to enter into negotiations with unofficial delegates of the orthodox or of the liberal party, who possess no legal authority, rather than with the delegates of an official synod, who would be able to speak in the name of the whole Reformed Church. And, last, not least, the Government does not wish to sanction a legal organization of all the Protestant churches, because it would be very difficult to refuse to the Catholic Church a privilege which would have been conferred on the Protestant churches. Now, the Government is not at all in a mood to give such rights to the Catholics.

In this question, as well as in all others, our relation with the State is quite subordinated to the relations of the Government with the Roman Catholic Church. We ought not to forget that we Protestants are but a very little minority in the country. This same burden lies upon us, in the prospect of the separation of the Church and State, of which so much is spoken now in France.

We have treated the question in all its aspects at the Conference, but without being able to form any decision, for we do not know if the separation will be effected by this Parliament or not, and still less, what would be the new legal conditions of the churches if the separation is voted. There are many amongst us who are favorable to the principle of separation. But we ask that the churches, when separated from the State, may be free. Now the Bill, which the Committee of Parliament is elaborating, is just the contrary of a law of freedom. It is wholly dominated by the necessity of preventing the constitution of a too powerful Roman Catholic Church under the direction of a foreign Pope, which would be more dangerous for the Republic than the actual Roman Church, for now she is bound by the Concordat. According to the proposed Bill the churches would be bereft of all their temples; they would not be allowed to have a general or central fund; they would be subjected to all kinds of regulations, so that it would be impossible for them to have a strong organization.

It does not, indeed, seem likely that the vote for separation will pass in the present Parliament. The Government does not wish it, and we do not think that the majority of the members in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Senate are prepared to hasten such a radical measure. Moreover, it is possible that, even if the Bill comes under discussion, the severe stipulations proposed by the Committee will not be voted without being modified.

Some people are of the opinion that the Jesuits and the Ultramontane politicians in Rome desire separation, and that they will act so as to render it necessary, believing that such a radical change of the old order will certainly provoke a reaction. It would not take many mistakes such as the protestation of the Roman Court against the visit of President Loubet in Rome to provoke in the whole country a movement of hostility against the Roman Church that would end in separation. But, on the other hand, such a policy would be very dangerous for the Church. During the past thirty years the clerical party has often made a deal with the extreme political parties, hoping that the excess of radicalism would provoke a reaction favorable to itself. But it has always been disappointed. More prudent Catholics think it a great mistake to provoke separation.

For us the suppression of the State subsidies would create a very difficult situation, scanty though they be. In the country a great many of the village churches, perhaps one-third of them, would be unable to provide for their maintenance. In France country people are not accustomed to supply their churches with personal subscriptions, and the cities, at least in the first years, would have enough to do in providing for their own wants. Nevertheless we should accept separation if we could only obtain sufficient freedom to be able to organize our churches strongly.

In France as perhaps in some other countries, wealth is easily conservative. Many orthodox Protestants are convinced that after separation only the orthodox churches will have sufficient subscriptions. But the general opinion among our Protestant people is that in case of separation the first duty of Protestant churches will be to remain united and not to divide themselves into a number of hostile denominations, so as to weaken still more our already so small minority in the struggle against Catholicism and also against atheism. Our Conference was unanimously of that opinion. We voted a plan for the federation of all Protestant churches, which was elaborated by the last meeting of the Free Churches—*i. e.*, the small churches, which are already without any bond with the State. But the question is: Do the rich subscribers adhere to the same fraternal principles as the great mass of the Protestant people?

The situation, you see, is still very uncertain.

Jean Reville, in The Inquirer.

Paris, June 21, 1904.

Literature Versus Nature.

The essay-naturalist observes and admires; the scientific naturalist *collects*. One brings home a bouquet from the woods; the other, specimens for his herbarium. The former would enlist your sympathies and arouse your enthusiasm; the latter would add to your store of exact knowledge. The one is just as shy of over-coloring or falsifying his facts as the other, only he gives more than facts,—he gives impressions and analogies and, as far as possible, shows you the live bird on the bough.—*John Burroughs, in the July Atlantic.*

"The year's at the spring
And day's at the morn;
* * * * *
God's in his heaven—
All's right with the world."
In all things Thee to see,
To scorn the senses' sway,

—F. E. Dewhurst.

The Paradise of the Laboring Man.

If laws can make a paradise for the working man, New Zealand is surely such a paradise, for his interests are here hedged about with barbed-wire laws which it would seem impossible for the most grasping capitalist or the most soulless corporation to break through.

Children are protected with special solicitude. A number of trades deemed noxious are forbidden them, such as silvering mirrors, dipping lucifer matches, etc. Women and children under sixteen must not be employed for more than forty-eight hours a week or at any time between six in the evening and eight in the morning, or for more than four hours and a half at a time without half an hour's interval for meals.

The workman's wages, too, are protected as in no other land. Wages are payable in money only. Any clause in a contract providing that part of the wages shall be paid in goods or otherwise than in money is null and void, and "an employer may not sue for the value of goods supplied to a workman at any shop or store belonging in any degree to him; nor may he in a claim for wages against him plead any counter-claim or set-off." Wages must be paid at intervals of not more than a week, and boys under eighteen must be paid a minimum wage of five shillings and girls a minimum of four shillings per week.

Moreover, a weekly half-holiday is everywhere compulsory. Shops and factories must close at one o'clock on Saturdays unless the local authorities, as is sometimes the case, elect Wednesday, more the half-holiday. Almots universal satisfaction is often Thursday, or some other day of the week for expressed with the working of this law. Business men admit that the volume of their business has not been reduced, as they at first feared.

So far from regretting the formation of labor unions or opposing them, New Zealanders encourage them, and the very act of Parliament which ten years ago established compulsory arbitration is entitled: "An act to encourage the formation of industrial unions or associations, and to facilitate the settlement of industrial disputes by conciliation and arbitration."

This in turn has promoted the formation of employers' unions, and so the responsible recognized and "registered" organizations on both sides are provided for carrying the dispute to the court of settlement.

Together with the court of arbitration, "Boards of Conciliation" are established in each of the six "industrial districts" of the colony.

The Boards of Conciliation, however, which it was hoped at the beginning would settle nine-tenths of the disputes, have not fulfilled public expectations, for their awards are not considered final, and four-fifths of the cases are carried on to the Board of Arbitration.

In the early days of the law employers were slow to take advantage of it, and opposed it, both actively and passively, and all the early cases were brought before the Court on the initiation of the labor unions; but when the employers found that the law had come to stay they began to regard it more favorably, and decided to test it fairly.

Though there may be some lingering opposition yet to Compulsory Arbitration and other labor laws, there is one peculiarly New Zealand institution which is unusually popular, and that is the Public Trust Office.

The Public Trust Office administers estates whenever requested to do so by the testators or when their owner dies intestate, and "the public trustee may be named substitute for any trustees of property in the Colony who are unable or unwilling to perform their duties."

The advantages of the public trustee are obvious in the expedition and economy with which estates are administered. He is paid his salary and not a commission on the value of the estate, and it is not to his advantage to prolong the settlement and engage in unending litigation.

Thousands of estates are administered by the Public Trustee aggregating a value of millions of pounds.

State Life Insurance is another deservedly popular institution of New Zealand. Started more than thirty years ago with the design of promoting thrift among the pooper classes, it has fully justified its design, with the result that to-day the people of New Zealand carry more life insurance than any other people in the world, the average being nearly £80 for every adult man. Of this sum the State Office guarantees one-half, and has undoubtedly greatly promoted faith in this method of providing for the future. A State Fire Insurance Office has also recently been started.

The government, too, not only insures its people against death and disaster, but it takes charge of their savings for them; for, with very few exceptions, all the savings banks are connected with the postoffice, and in these banks are more than £6,000,000, credited for the most part to those in very moderate circumstances.

This summary of some of the most striking economic conditions of this most interesting colony plainly shows that it is a people very much governed. This paternal government, however, is not imposed by any one from without, but is the choice of the people themselves, and may be thrown off at any time when it suits their interests.

The government takes charge of them as soon as they are born. It prescribes what they shall study in the public schools, how little they shall work in the factories, how much they shall be paid, what holidays they shall have. It undertakes to settle all disputes between the workman and his employer, and sees to it that the former gets his pay in good current coin of the realm. After he gets his pay it helps him save it, and, if he is not able to save enough, pensions him in his old age, provided he has been a half-way decent fellow. After he dies it takes care of his estate for him and administers it with neatness and dispatch.

But what are the results of this paternalistic socialism? Here are some of them. A land without paupers and without millionaires, an amount of private wealth that gives to each individual on the average more than £240, ranking him very high among the inhabitants of the most favored nations in the world in this respect; a country where every individual spends more for food, drink and clothes than in any other country in the world, in spite of the comparative cheapness of staple articles; a country of industrious, prosperous, contented, law-abiding, God-fearing people. These indisputable facts surely speak well for the industrial conditions in the world's economic experiment station—New Zealand.—*Rev. Francis E. Clark in The London Christian World.*

. . . "If the press of the world would adopt and persist in the high resolve that war should be no more, the clangor of arms would cease from the rising of the sun to its going down, and we could fancy that at last our ears, no longer stunned by the din of armies, might hear the morning stars singing together and all the sons of God shouting for joy."—*John Hay at the Press Congress at St. Louis.*

UNITY

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY

THE UNITY PUBLISHING COMPANY

3939 Langley Avenue, Chicago

Entered at Chicago, Ill., Postoffice as Second Class Matter.

$2.00 PER ANNUM.

EDITORS.

JENKIN LLOYD JONES. WILLIAM KENT.

ASSISTANT EDITOR.

EDITH LACKERSTEEN.

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS.

Jane Addams. Wilson M. Backus. Richard W. Boynton. Frederick W. Burlingham. John W. Chadwick. Francis A. Christie. Joseph H. Crooker. Fred'ck E. Dewhurst. John Faville. George W. Gilmore. Fred. V. Hawley. Emil Hirsch. Charles W. Pearson. Granville Ross Pike. Henry M. Simmons. Frederick Starr. Joseph Stolz. Hiram W. Thomas. Oscar L. Triggs. R. A. White. E. P. Powell.

THE FIELD.

"The World is my Country; to do good is my Religion."

A Song of Morn.

The morning comes with its awakening light—
To bless our souls through all the summer long,
O Father in the glory of its light—
We speak to thee in gratitude of song!

It is so beautiful to see the day,
To feel the life-blood coursing in our veins;
To sense the strength to walk upon our way,
And make for character new golden gains!

The gift is thine each moment of our course,
But O so sweet as we steal out from sleep,
And have again the freshness, glow and force—
That make us on the road rejoicing leap!

Each morn is great creation's dawn of joy,
The hours of day as holy week may run,
And in the stress and care of our employ,
Our hearts may have the brightness of thy sun!

Be with us in the busy round of life,
Teach us to see the glory of its good,
Give us the strength to bravely meet the strife,
And love to manifest our brotherhood!

With morn the soul awakes to beauty bright,
The tides of feeling are so pure and strong,
Within us glows the gift of heavenly light,
And in our hearts there is the joy of song!

WILLIAM BRUNTON.

Foreign Notes.

MORE ABOUT BELGIAN SOCIALISTS.—The death not long since of a valiant and much esteemed Belgian socialist deputy at the early age of forty-five, leads *Le Peuple* to note the fact that scarcely any of the early organizers of the Belgian labor party have passed that age, while several have not even reached it.

Dr. Janssens, inspector of the health department of Brussels, gives the following figures as to the average duration of life there: 53 years for the wealthy class, 35 for those in easy circumstances and 18 only for the poor.

In this connection a letter from Gand to the *Signal de Genève* is of interest. The writer calls attention to a magazine started something over a year ago in Brussels under the title: *The Cottage.* The aim of this periodical is to improve the conditions of living. It advocates return to a life removed from the restless, wearing turmoil of the cities. It recommends houses of simple construction and planned with direct reference to the character and needs of their occupants. It also publishes articles on the hygiene of cities and dwellings and plans for country houses at surprisingly low cost. It aims to be the regular reading of any one intending to build a home, for it seeks to give advice as to selection of furniture and the esthetic side of home arrangements, as well as sanitation, drainage, ventilation, and all that makes for health and beauty of surroundings.

But organized, concerted effort is necessary to stem the tide of adverse influences in the routine and rush of modern life. To this end in Belgium, as already in France, there is being formed an Association of Garden Cities and Art and Hygiene for all. The prospectus of this organization, published in *The Cottage,* emphasizes the fact, which cannot be too often stated, that *alcoholism and tuberculosis are not causes but consequences, and that to struggle in any effective fashion against these scourges of our day one must remove their principal cause, namely the crowding of human beings.*

This movement started in England, where an English publicist in a book entitled "Tomorrow" has treated very thoroughly this question of the overpopulation of our large cities, the causes and the remedy. He finds the latter in the construction of a new type of city. As urban life and rural life are alike imperfect and incomplete, the ideal, all-round existence must be found in a combination of the two—the "citizen-countryman" and the "garden-city."

As a practical, energetic and thoroughly convinced Englishman, Mr. Howard has succeeded in raising a fund of some $1,500,000 to begin the garden-city of his dreams. It is to be about 50 kilometers north of London and work on it has already begun.

Similar associations have been formed in Germany, Hungary and the United States. One of the most recent is the French Garden-City Association started by a young Parisian advocate, G. Benoit-Lévy, who has already drawn around him such men as Casimir-Périer, former president of the republic; Cheysson, Derembourg and Georges Picot, members of the Institute; Jules Siegfried, ex-minister; Paul Strauss, senator; Mabilleau, director of the Musée Social; Charles Gide, professor of social economics; the economist Raphael Georges Lévy; Henri Monod, director of public assistance and hygiene in the Department of the Interior, and many others equally well-known and esteemed, with, last but not least, the poet Jean Lahor, founder of the International Society of Popular Art and Hygiene.

Belgium, says the writer of this article, as a country with the densest population and feverish industrial activity, cannot remain indifferent to such a movement for a social and artistic renaissance, whose starting-point is the radical transformation of the dwelling, the bringing of a simple, tasteful, healthful home surrounded by flowers and verdure, within the reach of all, even the poorest.

Preparatory work must be a study in each section of the country of the best type of dwelling for artisans, laborers, clerks; of appropriate external decorations, and of simple, genuine and artistic furniture. Also the systematic popularization of general ideas of hygiene and of domestic hygiene in particular.

Along the same line also, or a link in the same chain, would be intelligent cooperation in the attempt to revive the various small art industries killed by industrialism, such as wood-carving, brazier's ware, embroidery, home lace-making, wrought-iron, Flemish pottery, etc., etc., by establishing cooperative headquarters for the sale of such goods in the large cities, as well as local museums and exhibits of rustic art, lectures and traveling schools.

At the recent Belgian socialist congress, it was voted by a large majority that cooperative organizations selling liquor should no longer be entitled to representation in general meetings of the socialist party. Both Austrian and Belgian socialists have, in convention, expressed their belief that alcohol is their enemy no less than capitalism; that the two enemies must be fought unremittingly and together, as labor can never free itself from the second while held in bondage by the first.

In the pretty Belgian village of Gheluwe, the other day, six couples of working people celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of their marriage. A seventh couple was to have shared in the festivities but was unable to leave home.

The entire population turned out for the occasion, for which a beautiful triumphal arch had been erected. The celebrants, accompanied by their relatives to the number of two hundred, marched to the church, where at 10:30 a solemn *Te Deum* closed the religious services. On leaving the church many bouquets were presented to the aged couples, who were received at the town hall by the local authorities. The burgomaster delivered a charming address of congratulation, to which a grandson of one of the couples replied on behalf of all, after which the choral society rendered an appropriate selection.

At 12:30 a banquet was held in the public hall at which the burgomaster, the Abbé Roelous and the parish priest presided. Later a group photograph of the jubilee celebrants was taken. Their united ages amounted to 1,114 years or more than eleven centuries.

M. E. H.

A Request Good for Every City and State.

At the June directors' meetings of the American Humane Education Society and Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, it was unanimously voted, "That we do most earnestly ask all persons who have occasion to hire herdics, coupes or other carriages, to kindly look at the horses before hiring, and so far as possible select those which seem to be in the best condition, and so aid in giving many overworked horses a vacation, and in having their places supplied by others which have less need of rest," and don't ride behind a docked horse, or one tightly checked, if you can help it.

GEORGE T. ANGELL.

Announcements.

Pulpit notices, lecture announcements in Chicago or elsewhere, "Wants" of churches or ministers, or "Personals" of interest to U&|9fl readers are invited for this column.

From July 1 to September 15 the address of Jenkin Lloyd Jones and of Unity Publishing Company will be Spring Green, Wis.

An Auburn man thinks just twice as much of dog intelligence now as he did a week ago. He owned a dog and tired of him and had agreed to transfer him to a friend who lives in the south part of the city. He took him in his arms, tied a coat over his head and carried him down and delivered him. It was a long distance and he had no idea that the dog would ever show up again about his own premises. That night, on reaching home, the dog lay in his accustomed place on the rug, while the Auburn man's wife wore a curious smile of amusement. The conundrum in the family is: How does a dog know the way home? One thing is now quite certain—that the dog can stay where he is as long as he wants to.—*Lewiston (Maine) Journal.*

The robin and the bluebird piping loud,
Filled all the blossoming orchards with their glee;
The sparrows chirped as if they still were proud
Their race in Holy Writ should mentioned be.
—*The Birds of Killingworth.*

THE NORTH-WESTERN LINE

$50 CALIFORNIA AND RETURN

From Chicago daily, August 15 to September 10, inclusive. Correspondingly low rates from all points. Special trains from Chicago; stopovers en route; choice of routes returning. Two fast daily trains via the Chicago, Union Pacific and North-Western Line.

THE OVERLAND LIMITED

is a solid through train every day in the year. Less than three days en route.

Write for itineraries, descriptive pamphlets and full information. All agents sell tickets via this line.

The Best of Everything.

W. B. KNISKERN,
Pass'r Traffic Mgr., C. & N.-W. Ry.
CHICAGO.

NW341

UNION PACIFIC
THE OVERLAND ROUTE

"Lake Lore"

is the title of a new book descriptive of the lake resorts of Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota and northern Illinois and Iowa. It is written by Forrest Crissey and just published by the

Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway.

It will be ready for distribution June 1, 1904, and will be sent to any address for six cents' postage. It will be invaluable in helping you to plan your summer vacation.

F. A. MILLER,
General Passenger Agent, CHICAGO.

President Roosevelt's Works

14 volumes for 50 cents and one dollar a month for four months.

We have decided to add a thousand new customers to our list in the next few weeks no matter what the cost. The plan we adopted in order to do this is in making some (never-before-thought of) offers to Unity readers.

We were exceedingly fortunate in securing a few sets of "Roosevelt's Works" in a "remainder lot sale," which we have just received. They are bound in 14 Octavo Buckram and have been selling regularly at $7.00 per set.

VOLUMES: Hunting Trips of a Ranchman, Hunting Trips on the Prairie, Hunting the Grizzly, Winning of the West, 6 vols., Naval War of 1812, 2 vols., Administration Civil Service, American Ideals, The Wilderness Hunter.

At Less Than Half Price Sent FREE on Approval

These books should be in every house. The supply is limited. By filling out the coupon attached and forwarding to us, we will send the books to you free for inspection. If satisfactory, send us fifty cents within five days and then $1.00 a month for four months or send $4.00 cash. Write now to

The Pilgrim Press
175 Wabash Ave.,
Chicago.

Pilgrim Press, Chicago:

Send on approval as advertised in July Unity, 14 vols. set President Roosevelt's Works. If satisfactory will pay 50 cents cash and $1.00 a month for four months. If not will return sets within five days.

Name.....

Address.....

Vacation Questions Answered

When planning your summer vacation, questions will arise which you can not answer readily.

We can tell you what you want to know about Colorado, Utah or California, the wonderful Yellowstone Park, the picturesque Black Hills of South Dakota, or the marvelous Puget Sound country.

It will be our pleasure, if you give us the opportunity, to tell you how to reach any of these points, how long it will take, what it will cost, what you can do and see when you get there, the cost of living, etc.

All these places are quickly and comfortably reached by the Burlington's thro' train and car service from Chicago and St. Louis. If you want to go somewhere for rest and recreation after visiting the World's Fair, write us

Burlington Route

P. S. EUSTIS,
Passenger Traffic Manager
P7 CHICAGO

ATHLETES

TO KEEP IN GOOD TRIM MUST LOOK WELL TO THE CONDITION OF THE SKIN. TO THIS END THE BATH SHOULD BE TAKEN WITH

HAND SAPOLIO

All Grocers and Druggists

ONLY ⅓ OF A DAY
BETWEEN
CHICAGO
AND
CINCINNATI
VIA THE

MONON ROUTE

and C. H. & D. Ry.

Choice of 4 Superb Trains Daily.

DAY TRAINS Equipped with Parlor and Dining Cars.

NIGHT TRAIN, with Palace Sleeping and Compartment Cars.

CHAS. H. ROCKWELL, Traffic Manager. FRANK J. REED, Gen. Pass. Agt.

200 Custom House Place, CHICAGO.

Looking for A Location?

Perhaps I can help you.

I have, in my office in Chicago, a vast amount of data as to the industrial needs of the Southwest—Oklahoma, Indian Territory, Arkansas, New Mexico and Texas. I can tell you where there is an opening in almost any line of business. I can let you know where good land is to be had, what the price is, and on what terms it can be bought.

All you need do is—fill out and mail the accompanying coupon.

JOHN SEBASTIAN,
Passenger Traffic Manager Rock Island System,
CHICAGO, ILL.

Please advise me

Desirable locations for.....business

What is land worth in the vicinity of.....

I have $.....

Name.....

Street and No.....

Town or City.....State.....

Rock Island System

Free Reading!

Unitarian Literature sent free on application to ELLEN A. CALL, 35 Summer St, Lawrence, Mass.

GREAT
Religious Teachers
By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

ZOROASTER, the Prophet of Industry
CONFUCIUS, the Prophet of Politics
SOCRATES, the Prophet of Reason
JESUS, the Founder of Christianity

Reduced from 10 to 5 cents each while they last. Address

UNITY PUBLISHING CO.,
3939 Langley Avenue Chicago

TO ST. LOUIS

ILLINOIS CENTRAL
CENTRAL MISSISSIPPI VALLEY ROUTE
RAILROAD

DAYLIGHT SPECIAL
FAST DAY TRAIN

THE DIAMOND SPECIAL
POPULAR NIGHT TRAIN